

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 MBFR VIENNA 0078

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
SUBJ: MBFR: SUMMARY OF INFORMAL SESSION WITH EASTERN
REPRESENTATIVES OF FEBRUARY 21, 1978

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE FEBRUARY 21, 1978 INFORMAL
SESSION OF THE VIENNA TALKS, THE ALLIES WERE REPRESENTED BY
THE CANADIAN, UK AND US REPS, AND THE EAST BY SOVIET REPS
TARASOV AND SHUSTOV, GDR REP OESER, AND POLISH REP STRULAK.

2. THE SESSION BEGAN WITH THE EXCHANGE OF GENERAL
STATEMENTS BY EACH SIDE, IN THE COURSE OF WHICH
TARASOV DELIVERED A LONG CRITIQUE OF WHAT HE CHARACTERIZED
AS A SERIES OF INCREASES IN US MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE
REDUCTION AREA DURING THE VIENNA TALKS, CLAIMING THAT THE
UK AND FRG HAD ALSO INCREASED THEIR MILITARY MANPOWER IN
THE AREA, AND CONCLUDING WITH A RENEWED APPEAL TO THE
WEST TO ACCEPT THE EASTERN NON-INCREASE PROPOSAL. THE
REMAINDER OF THE SESSION FOCUSED ON THE DECEMBER 14 TEXT

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OF STATEMENTS TO PRECEDE DATA EXCHANGE. CONTINGENT ON
WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2,
EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ACCEPTED ALL AMENDMENTS OF THE TEXT
WHICH HAD BEEN PROPOSED BY THE WEST, EXCEPT FOR THE NO PREJUDICE
STATEMENT IN SECTION 4. THEY ALSO ASKED FOR SOME MINOR
LANGUAGE AMENDMENTS OF THEIR OWN. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES
EXPLAINED WHY IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO ACCEPT THE FIRST SENTENCE

OF SECTION 2 IN ITS PRESENT FORM, BUT PROPOSED NEW LANGUAGE FOR THAT SENTENCE DRAWN FROM NAC GUIDANCE. IN A LONG REJOINDER, TARASOV CLAIMED THAT THE WESTERN REQUEST FOR A NO PREJUDICE SENTENCE WAS GOING BEYOND THE CONCEPT THAT THE STATEMENTS SHOULD BE LIMITED TO DESCRIPTION OF DATA AND HE CHARACTERIZED THE NEW WESTERN SUGGESTION AS A STEP BACKWARD.

3. CANADIAN REP LED OFF WITH A GENERAL STATEMENT. HE SAID THAT, IN DECEMBER 1975 THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD MADE AN OFFER OF GREAT MILITARY IMPORTANCE, WHICH SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECTED THE OUTCOME ENVISAGED BY THE WESTERN ORIGINAL PROPOSAL. THE EAST, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAD THUS FAR MADE NO CHANGE WHATEVER IN THE OUTCOME ENVISAGED IN ITS NOVEMBER 1973 PROPOSALS. EASTERN MOVES ON PHASING WERE IN FACT BASED ON THE IDEA THAT THE WEST SHOULD ACCEPT ALL THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE NOVEMBER 1973 EASTERN REDUCTION PROPOSAL. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL FOR EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS OF MILITARY MANPOWER AND ARMAMENTS WOULD CONTRACTUALIZE THE EAST'S NUMERICAL SUPERIORITIES WITHIN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS AND THEREBY PRODUCE AN ASYMMETRICAL OUTCOME.

4. TARASOV CLAIMED THAT THE US HAD MADE A WHOLE SERIES OF INCREASES IN ITS MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE REDUCTIONS AREA. THE ANNOUNCED US INCREASE OF 8,000 MEN WAS NOT THE SOLE EVIDENCE OF US INCREASES DURING THE VIENNA TALKS. TARASOV CLAIMED THE US HAD INCREASED BY 16,000 MEN IN 1977 ALONE AND THAT

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THE NUNN AMENDMENT REORGANIZATION PRIOR TO THAT HAD RESULTED IN SHIFTING 18,000 MEN TO COMBAT FUNCTIONS FROM SUPPORT FUNCTIONS AND IN FILLING THE SUPPORT FUNCTIONS WITH CIVILIANS WHO WOULD BE PLACED IN UNIFORM IN THE EVENT OF WAR. THE UK AND FRG HAD ALSO INCREASED THEIR FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA. THESE ACTIONS WERE UNDERMINING THE BASIS OF THE VIENNA TALKS. TO SHOW ITS GOOD FAITH, THE WEST SHOULD ACCEPT THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL.

5. US REP MADE A BRIEF REJOINDER TO THESE CEITICISMS CITING SOVIET INCREASES IN THE AREA. TURNING TO THE DECEMBER 14 STATEMENTS, HE ASKED FOR DETAILED EASTERN REACTIONS TO PROPOSALS BY WESTERN REPS AND BY TRANSLATORS FOR THE AMENDMENTS WHICH HE HAD DESCRIBED IN THE FEBRUARY 16 SESSION.

6. GDR REP STATED THAT THE EAST WAS PREPARED TO AGREE TO THE TRANSLATION CHANGES THE WEST HAD REQUESTED FOR SECTION 1. HE SAID THE EAST WAS ALSO PREPARED TO AGREE TO ACCEPT ALL CHANGES PROPOSED BY THE WEST IN SECTION 2. IN THIS SECTION THE EAST WISHED TO ADD IN THE FIRST LINE OF THE AMENDMENT PROPOSED BY THE WEST ON FEBRUARY 7 THE WORD QUOTE OVERALL UNQUOTE BEFORE QUOTE NUMERICAL UNQUOTE AND IN THE THIRD LINE THE WORDS QUOTE

OVERALL NUMERICAL DATA UNQUOTE BEFORE THE WORDS QUOTE ON THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL UNQUOTE SO THAT THIS PHRASE WOULD READ: QUOTE ARE PREPARED TO EXCHANGE OVERALL NUMERICAL DATA ON THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL AND MAJOR FORMATIONS OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CANADA AND LUXEMBOURG, AND OVERALL NUMERICAL DATA ON THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT OTHER THAN THOSE IN MAJOR FORMATIONS. UNQUOTE. IN SECTION 3, GDR REP AGAIN

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PROPOSED DELETION OF REFERENCE TO OCT 25 PROPOSAL, AND REQUESTED ADDITION OF THE WORD QUOTE EACH UNQUOTE BEFORE THE WORDS QUOTE DIRECT PARTICIPANT UNQUOTE IN ITEM 3A. GDR REP ALSO REQUESTED THAT THE TERM QUOTE WARSAW TREATY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS UNQUOTE BE REPLACED WHERE IT APPEARED IN THE TEXT BY QUOTE SOCIALIST DIRECT PARTICIPANTS UNQUOTE ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE EAST WAS NOT NEGOTIATING AS AN ALLIANCE. GDR REP DID NOT DEAL WITH THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR NO PREJUDICE STATEMENT IN SECTION 4. GDR REP STRESSED THAT THE EAST REGARDED AGREEMENT ON THESE POINTS AS AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO RAPID AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT AND WAS WILLING TO AGREE TO THESE CHANGES ONLY ON THE CONDITION THAT THE WEST AGREE TO THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2.

7. FOR CLARITY OF UNDERSTANDING, US REP WENT THROUGH THE TEXT ONCE MORE, PROVISIONALLY AGREEING AD REFERENDUM TO THE LANGUAGE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE EAST SOME OF WHICH WERE

MODIFIED IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSION. AS A RESULT, THE ENTIRE TEXT IS NOW TENTATIVELY AGREED WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE FIRST PHRASE OF SENTENCE 1 IN SECTION 2, THE NO PREJUDICE

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STATEMENT IN SECTION 4, AND THE MENTION OF THE EAST'S OCT 25 PROPOSAL AT THE BEGINNING OF SECTION 3 WHICH THE WEST HAS OFFERED TO ACCEPT AND THE EAST HAS OFFERED TO DELETE. (TEXT ATTACHED SHOWS EFFECTS OF POSSIBLE CHANGES). US REP ARGUED THAT SECTION 2 AND 3 OF THE DRAFT ORAL STATEMENTS TAKEN TOGETHER PROVIDED THE CLEAR CUT AND PRECISE REPLY SOUGHT BY THE EAST AS TO WHETHER THE WEST ACCEPTED THE OCT 25 PROPOSAL. THE LANGUAGE OF SECTION 4 IN THE DEC 14 TEXT SHOWED QUITE CLEARLY THAT THE WEST HAD ACCEPTED ALL THOSE ASPECTS OF THE OCT 25, 1977 PROPOSAL WHICH BY AGREEMENT WOULD SERVE AS THE BASIS OF THE DATA EXCHANGE NOW UNDER DISCUSSION. SINCE THIS WAS THE CASE, EASTERN REQUIREMENTS SHOULD BE MET AND THERE WAS NO NEED FOR THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2, WHICH THE WEST CONTINUED UNABLE TO ACCEPT BECAUSE OF ITS INACCURACY.

8. POLISH REP SAID THAT, NOW THAT THESE CHANGES HAD BEEN PROVISIONALLY AGREED BY THE EAST IN THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT TO BE MADE BY THE WEST AND WERE REFLECTED IN SECTION 2, THIS WAS ALL THE MORE REASON WHY WESTERN REPS SHOULD AGREE TO ACCEPT THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2 WHICH STATED THAT THEY AGREED TO THE CITED EASTERN PROPOSALS OF OCT 25 ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE DATA EXCHANGE WOULD BE CARRIED OUT ON A BASIS WHICH WAS FORMULATED IN LANGUAGE WHICH NOW FULLY INCORPORATED WESTERN VIEWS.

9. UK REP EXPLAINED WHY THE WEST WANTED A NO PREJUDICE STATEMENT IN SECTION 4, POINTING OUT THAT TARASOV HIMSELF HAD MADE A SIMILAR STATEMENT IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE EAST'S OCT 25 PROPOSAL. HE CONTINUED THAT, IN THE INTEREST OF REACHING PROMPT AGREEMENT IN THE ENTIRE TEXT, THE WEST WAS PREPARED TO PROPOSE A FURTHER MOVE WHICH ADDRESSED THE EASTERN INTEREST. ASSUMING FULL AGREEMENT IN THE REMAINING TEXT, WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE NEW FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2 WHICH

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WOULD READ AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE A WESTERN REPRESENTATIVE WOULD SAY:

THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS ARE PREPARED TO EXCHANGE THE FOLLOWING DATA, WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE DATA JUST DESCRIBED BY THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVE, THAT IS, DATA ON THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT WITH

THE EXCEPTION OF CANADA AND LUXEMBOURG, AND ON THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT OTHER THAN THOSE IN MAJOR FORMATIONS. UNQUOTE.

10. TARASOV SAID THE WESTERN DESIRE TO INCLUDE A NO PREJUDICE STATEMENT IN THE STATEMENTS WENT BEYOND THE AGREEMENT THAT THE PRESENT STATEMENTS SHOULD BE CONFINED TO DESCRIPTION OF DATA TO BE EXCHANGED. HE CLAIMED THAT THE WEST'S PROPOSALS OF FEB 7 FOR AMENDMENT OF THE DEC 14 TEXT HAD COMPLETELY DISMANTLED THAT TEXT. SINCE THEN, THE EAST HAD MADE REPEATED CONCESSIONS, INCLUDING ITS AGREEMENT TO VARIOUS WESTERN AMENDMENTS ON THE PRESENT OCCASIONS. THE WEST HAD REFUSED TO SHOW THE SAME FLEXIBILITY AND THE WEST'S PRESENT PROPOSAL AS REGARDS THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2 WAS A STEP BACKWARDS.

11. PARTICIPANTS AGREED TO HOLD THE NEXT SESSION ON FEB 23. END SUMMARY.

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 4 MBFR VIENNA 0078

STATUS AS OF FEBRUARY 21, 1978 (CONFIDENTIAL)

OUTLINE OF SUGGESTED ORAL STATEMENTS

1. A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS
WOULD SAY:

QUOTE: THE GDR, THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AND THE SOVIET UNION SUBMITTED ON OCTOBER 25, 1977 APROPOSAL TO PRESENT ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY THE OVERALL NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF GROUND FORCES IN MAJOR FORMATIONS AS WELL AS THE OVERALL MANPOWER OF FORCES OTHER THAN PERSONNEL IN THESE FORMATIONS OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT. PARTICIPANTS COULD ALSO SEPARATELY EXCHANGE DATA FOR AIR FORCE MANPOWER. IN DISCUSSING ALL THESE FIGURES, WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS ARE WILLING TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE WISHES OF THE WESTERN STATES THAT THE FIGURE FOR THE PERSONNEL OF THE JOINT NATO HEADQUARTERS BE SUBMITTED AS AN INTEGRATED ONE, WITHOUT BEING SUBDIVIDED INTO NATIONAL

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ELEMENTS.

AT THE SAME TIME, WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS SUGGESTED THAT THE MANNING LEVELS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF STATES SUBJECT TO REDUCTION SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. SUCH CONSIDERATION NATURALLY SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY. THIS MEANS THAT WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS ARE READY TO TABLE PERCENTAGES OF THE MANNING LEVELS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF EACH SOCIALIST STATE DIRECT PARTICIPANT IN THE REDUCTION AREA AS OF JANUARY 1, 1976, PROVIDED THAT WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT STATES FOR THEIR PART WOULD SUBMIT THE PERCENTAGE OF MANNING LEVELS OF EACH NATO COUNTRY'S ARMED FORCES LOCATED IN CENTRAL EUROPE AS OF THE SAME DATE UNQUOTE.

2. A WESTERN REPRESENTATIVE WOULD SAY:

QUOTE: THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS (AGREE WITH THE CITED PROPOSALS OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS OF 25 OCTOBER 1977, ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING UNDERSTANDING: THEY) ARE PREPARED TO EXCHANGE (THE FOLLOWING DATA, WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE DATA JUST DESCRIBED BY THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVE, THAT,) TOTAL NUMERICAL DATA ON THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CANADA AND LUXEMBOURG, THE TOTAL NUMERICAL DATA ON THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT OTHER THAN THOSE IN MAJOR FORMATIONS. WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL PRESENT A SINGLE FIGURE FOR THEIR GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS. IN ADDITION, PARTICIPANTS SHOULD EXCHANGE OVERALL FIGURES FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF THE WESTERN AND EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN MAJOR FORMATIONS AND A SECOND OVERALL FIGURE FOR OTHER GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF THESE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. AS TO AIR FORCE MANPOWER DATA, WE ARE PREPARED

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TO PRESENT FIGURES FOR THE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS,
THAT IS, PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO TACTICAL AIR COMMANDS AND TO
TACTICAL AIR FORCES, AND REMAINING PERSONNEL OF EACH WESTERN
DIRECT PARTICIPANT, EXCEPT FOR CANADA, FOR WHICH ONLY ONE
FIGURE WILL BE PRESENTED SINCE IT DOES NOT HAVE MAJOR FORMA-
TIONS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS, AND LUXEMBOURG, WHICH DOES
NOT HAVE AN AIR FORCE. IN ADDITION, THE WEST WILL PRESENT
A SINGLE FIGURE FOR THE AIR FORCE PERSONNEL OF WESTERN

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DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS.
EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD PRESENT A SINGLE FIGURE FOR THE AIR
FORCE MANPOWER OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT.

WESTERN PARTICIPANTS, AT THE SAME TIME, PROPOSE THAT EASTERN
DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER DIVIDING THEIR AIR
FORCE MANPOWER BETWEEN THOSE IN MAJOR FORMATIONS AND REMAINING
PERSONNEL, USING THE FORMULA SUGGESTED BY THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS.

AS REGARDS THE PROPOSAL OF THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS
THAT THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONSIDER EXCHANGING DATA ON THE
MANNING LEVELS OF ARMED FORCES OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE
AREA OF REDUCTIONS, THIS PROPOSAL WILL BE CAREFULLY STUDIED

AND A REPLY TO IT WILL BE MADE SUBSEQUENTLY UNQUOTE.

3. A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS WOULD SAY:

QUOTE: THE SOCIALIST STATES DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AGREE TO THE
WESTERN SUGGESTION TO EXCHANGE OVERALL FIGURES FOR THE GROUND
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FORCE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS OF THE NATO AND THE WARSAW
TREATY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND A SECOND OVERALL FIGURE FOR OTHER
GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF THESE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

WITH RESPECT TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL TO DIVIDE FOR EACH
PARTICIPANT THE NUMERICAL DATA ON ITS AIR FORCE MANPOWER, THIS
PROPOSAL WILL BE CAREFULLY STUDIED AND A REPLY TO IT WILL BE
MADE SUBSEQUENTLY.

THEREFORE, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, TO SUMMARIZE THE STATEMENTS
MADE BY EACH SIDE IN THE PRESENT SESSION, PARTICIPANTS HAVE
AGREED TO EXCHANGE THE FOLLOWING FIGURES # (SPECIFIED IN THE
PROPOSAL OF THE SOCIALIST STATES OF OCTOBER 25 JUST CITED AND
IN THE STATEMENTS OF WESTERN AND WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS
MADE IN THE PRESENT SESSION:) # (EAST HAS OFFERED TO DELETE;
WEST HAS OFFERED TO RETAIN.)

A. OVERALL FIGURES FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR
FORMATIONS OF THE NATO AND WARSAW TREATY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND
A SECOND OVERALL FIGURE FOR THE PERSONNEL OF THESE DIRECT
PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THOSE IN THESE FORMATIONS WILL BE EXCHANGED.

B. THE WEST WILL PRESENT A FIGURE FOR ITS GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL
ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS.

C. DATA ON THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS OF
EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CANADA AND
LUXEMBOURG, WILL BE EXCHANGED.

D. FIGURES FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF EACH DIRECT
PARTICIPANT OTHER THAN THOSE IN MAJOR FORMATIONS WILL BE
EXCHANGED.

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E. DURING THIS ROUND, THE SIDES WILL ALSO EXCHANGE DATA ON THE
AIR FORCE MANPOWER OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT, PRESENTING THOSE
DATA IN A FORM WHICH EACH OF THE SIDES DEEMS MOST EXPEDIENT FOR

ITSELF UNQUOTE.

4. A WESTERN REPRESENTATIVE WOULD REPLY: QUOTE THIS IS CORRECT AND WE CAN NOW PROCEED TO THE EXCHANGE OF GROUND FORCE DATA. (IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS EXCHANGE IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE OVERALL POSITIONS OF THE PARTICIPANTS. UNQUOTE)

5. A WARSAW TREATY REPRESENTATIVE WOULD THEN SUGGEST THAT THE WEST PRESENT ITS GROUND FORCE DATA.

6. THE WARSAW TREATY DELEGATIONS WOULD THEN PRESENT THEIR GROUND FORCE DATA. RESOR

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